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ABSTRACT

Educational policy in three southern African countries plus the "independent" South African homelands is reviewed in this paper. First, an introduction discusses how the significance of education as a factor in national development became an issue of growing concern in the 1960's (during the move toward independence), but also how limited funds have hampered severely efforts to provide universal and free primary education. Next, common features of the nations under study are outlined, showing that economic and social conditions within these nations did not necessarily favor policies of rapid educational expansion which they chose to adopt. The role of human capital theory is then examined in relation to the prevailing belief that increased levels of educational services would generate economic growth. Implementation of such policies and their effects in the southern African countries are described next; consequences of rapid increases in enrollment have been low educational standards and poor school facilities, growing numbers of under- and unemployed school leavers, and growing imbalances between educational services being provided and employment requirements. Specific areas reviewed are basic education, family improvement education, community improvement education, and occupational and vocational education. Finally, it is suggested that a more pragmatic approach to educational expansion and the linking of both formal and appropriate education with available employment opportunities would assist in both social and economic development. (KH)

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ABSTRACT

By the mid twentieth century approximately three-quarters of the world's population were living in absolute poverty. In 1975 approximately 600 million adults in the poor countries were illiterate, while only two-fifths of the children in these nations had completed more than three years of primary education. (World Bank;1980) This situation is worsening in the 1980s with the growing inflation and decline in economic growth experienced by the Western nations and LDCs. Until recently attempts to counteract this poverty focused on stimulating economic growth, the emphasis being on investment in the capital intensive sector. While there can be little dispute that an increase in GNP is desirable, it has become increasingly evident that this alone is insufficient to bring about "balanced" development and deal with the social problems incurred during the growth process. Experience in the wealthy nations has pointed to the fact that the health, education and well-being of the population is as much a cause as a result of national prosperity. This has resulted in increasing attention being paid to the role played by human skills and productivity in the development process. The role of education in particular is of great importance. Emphasis has been given to the rapid quantitative expansion of educational opportunities, the intention being to produce a literate skilled and trained manpower, capable of participating in the economy and in development projects. Failure to recognise the importance of qualitative improvements in education and the need for adapted and appropriate curricula has meant, however, that the outcomes of such educational expansion have not necessarily been positive. The rise in the numbers of 'educated unemployed' despite the simultaneous existence of shortages of skilled labour is evidence of this. This paper attempts to review educational policy in Southern Africa stressing the achievements and difficulties in attaining equality, equity and excellence in education such that 'balanced' development is brought about.

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INTRODUCTION

The significance of education as a factor in national 'development' became an issue of growing concern in Africa in the early 1960s. Many of the newly independent countries of East and West Africa, faced with undeveloped economies and newly established public services, looked to education as a means of providing a skilled and trained workforce capable of participating in the development of these sectors. The association of education with economic development, combined with the belief that access to education was a right to be accorded to every individual, led to attempts by the newly independent African nations to provide universal and free education. Such attempts were evident in the recommendations adopted at the Addis Ababa Conference of 1961: that universal and free primary education become a reality by 1980 and free and open access to secondary school be achieved in the subsequent decade.

The most fundamental stumbling block in the attainment of such proposals was, of course, the limited financial resources available for investment in such programmes. While many of the African nations allocated as much as 30% of their total budgetary expenditure to educational expansion, the provision of even universal primary education continues to remain an elusive goal.

Educational expansion is, moreover, experiencing further setbacks in the present decade. The continuing economic recession and effects of the monetarist policies of the industrialised countries on the LDCs has adversely affected economic development and brought about increased reliance on debt financing. Financial restrictions are such that it is questionable whether even existing educational programmes could be continued at their present levels, while student enrolment ratios may well decline.(1) In view of such factors educational planners are questioning the feasibility of the formal educational system as a vehicle of mass education and training in the LDCs, particularly since student education at secondary and

(1) World Bank, Education Sector Policy Paper, Washington D.C., April 1980, p.17.

tertiary levels costs between 30 and 150 times that of primary education for each individual.(2)

THE SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN NATIONS

The committal of the West and East African nations to educational expansion and development in the early 1960s was not reflected in the policies adopted by many of the Southern African countries at this time. The primary reason for this lay in the fact that many of the areas had not then gained full political independence while their economic and social systems continued to reflect the racial inequalities characteristic to the region. Hence, education policies and, indeed, development policies in general, tended to be formulated more in racial than economic terms. The racial bias was perhaps most evident in policies concerning educational provision and expansion, as evident in the countries of Zimbabwe, Malawi, Namibia and the areas now designated as the independent South African Homelands, namely Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.(3)

However, in moves towards independence, and in the attainment of political independence, these countries were faced with economic and social conditions similar to those experienced in the 1960s by the East and West African nations. Most notably, the countries lacked a developed industrial system, while the majority of their populations were involved in subsistence agriculture, having limited access to health and education facilities, or to productive employment in the urban areas. Furthermore, the educational policies adopted, while apparently formulated without particular reference to the Addis Ababa Conference, reflect strategies similar to those undertaken by countries northwards in the 1960s; the rapid expansion of the formal education system. Little attention has been given by the Southern African countries to the consequences of rapid educational expansion in East and West Africa by the Southern African countries.

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(2) Psacharopolous, G., Returns to Education: An International Comparison, Elsevier Publishing Co., Amsterdam, 1973, p.127.
Todaro estimates that, in Malawi, the cost ratios per pupil between higher and primary education may be as high as 283:1 - Todaro, M.P., Economic Development in the Third World, Longman Inc., New York, 1981, p.287.

(3) The position regarding the independence of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana is a subject of considerable controversy. However, for the purposes of this paper the areas have been treated as independent since their governments have formulated both educational policies and manpower plans within their specific development policies and objectives.

That these issues should be a matter of concern to the selected Southern African countries becomes evident in the light of the increasing numbers of educated unemployed, while the demand for expansion of school facilities continues to be a political force which cannot be met within the restricted budgets available to the governments of these countries. Thus, more people are receiving education than can be either absorbed or supported by prevailing economic growth rates.

It is my intention in this paper to consider the consequences of a continued rapid expansion of formal educational systems in the Southern African countries of Zimbabwe, Malawi, Namibia and the independent Homelands of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana, in the light of the limited financial resources available for development programmes. A consideration of developments in alternative systems of education and training and their possible role in the development process will form the conclusion to the paper.

It is, however, important to indicate more fully the reasons why these specific countries have been grouped together in this consideration of the features of educational provision in Southern Africa. The countries, while evidencing diverse political stances, in fact have a number of characteristics in common which become important in any examination of their educational policies. These characteristics include the following:-

i) All of the selected countries, apart from Namibia, have gained their independence in the past two decades, Malawi being the first among them, gaining independence in 1964. Zimbabwe and the independent Homelands have achieved independence since 1977. Namibia continues to remain under the political mandate of South Africa, but moves for independence have been receiving increasing attention.

ii) Thus, all these selected Southern African countries have inherited educational systems imposed by former administrations. As a result the existing educational systems have not necessarily been structured in accordance with local cultural and economic conditions. Indeed, there have been growing demands for structural and curricula revisions among educationalists.

iii) In each of the selected countries the educational system, prior to independence, was structured along racial lines. This continues to be the case in Namibia. Education at all levels was thus provided separately to

different racial groups, frequently resulting in great inequalities in the system.

iv) The schooling systems of the selected countries evidence features common to many other LDCs: notably high drop out and repeater rates, low levels of attendance, low student pass rates and few adequately qualified teaching staff.

v) The selected countries, despite the existence of a large pool of unskilled labour, all suffer from severe shortages of skilled and trained manpower, both at technician and artisan level and at the professional level. Such shortages significantly affect the implementation of economic development programmes.

vi) Each of the selected countries may be categorised in terms of World Bank classifications as low- and middle- income oil importing countries. Per capita GNPs for all countries are well below US $500, while overall economic growth has been slow with restricted industrial development, sluggish agricultural performance with economic growth being dependent upon agriculturally based export strategies. In addition, the countries are experiencing rapid population increases, a very limited provision of welfare facilities, and balance of payments difficulties. In the instances of Namibia and the independent Homelands, however, budgetary deficits are to a great extent disguised by the provision of substantial financial subsidies from South Africa.(4) All the selected countries are thus seeking ways to generate higher levels of economic growth in their moves towards financial independence.

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN ACCELERATED NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The development of Human Capital theory in the early 1960s gave credence to a growing belief that increased levels of educational provision would generate economic growth. The newly independent nations all suffered

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(4) Department of Information, South African Year Book 1984, Government Printer, Johannesburg. 1984.

from extreme shortages of skilled and trained personnel[5] within their economic systems and hence it was accepted that the formal educational system was the principal institutional mechanism responsible for the development of required skills. Steps to bring about rapid quantitative expansions in formal schooling systems were undertaken amidst claims that it was the "human resources" of a nation that determined the nation's rate of economic growth, not its material or natural resources. Harbison[6] reflected these beliefs in his statement that "Human resources...constitute the ultimate basis for the wealth of nations. Capital and natural resources are passive factors of production; human beings are the active agents who accumulate capital, exploit natural resources, build social, economic and political organisations, and carry forward national development."

Investment in educational expansion grew to unprecedented levels; many nations allocated up to 30%[7] of their total budget to expenditure on quantitative expansion. This growth in expenditure frequently exceeded the overall rate of increase of GNP.

The quantitative expansion of educational facilities was linked by Human

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(5) The Congo/Zaire provided a good example of such manpower shortages- it is reported that the local University produced no graduates prior to independence and 7 African graduates were in the country in 1958. Malawi is reported to have had 8 local graduates at the time of independence in 1964.

(6) Harbison, F.H., Human Resources as the Wealth of Nations, Oxford University Press, New York, 1973, p.3.

(7) For statistics showing budgetary allocations to education by various LDCs, see:

i) Todaro, M.P., op. cit., p. 292.

ii) World Bank, op. cit., p.68.

Capital theory to increase in national income.(8) Economic 'growth' was typically measured in terms of increases in national income; national income by definition being the sum of all earned and unearned income in the economy. As further education was linked with increased earnings it was logical to assume that the quantitative expansion of education would result in both greater productivity and increased national income.(9) Rapid expansion was further justified by the prevailing manpower scarcities.

Human Capital theory received a further boost from the results of a number of studies carried out in Western countries which claimed unequivocally to show that increases in national output over time could be attributed to improvements in the quantity and quality of education and training.(10) These studies thus concluded that the rapid economic growth and development of the United States and the European countries was in large part a consequence of increased investment in education. The independent African nations in the early 1960s thus took the line recommended by such studies and continued with attempts to bring about the rapid quantitative expansion of educational facilities.(11)

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(8) This viewpoint is, for example, adequately expressed by G.U. Papi in his paper entitled "General Problems of the Economics of Education", - "... education enhances one of the most valuable natural endowments, and permits the human factor to combine in a more profitable way with other factors. Therefore, every effort to promote development in a country must start from improving the human factor." In Vaizey, J.E. and Robinson, E.A.G., (Eds), The Economics of Education, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London, 1966, p.4.

(9) For a detailed discussion of this aspect see Schultz, T.W., The Economic Value of Education, Columbia University Press, New York, 1964.

(10) Examples of such studies include:

i) Denison, E.F., The Sources of Economic Growth in the United States, Committee for Economic Development, New York, 1962.

ii) Schultz, T.W., "Education and Economic Growth", in Henry, N.B , (Ed), Social Forces Influencing American Education, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1961, pp. 46-88.

iii) Harbison, F. and Myers, C.A., Education, Manpower and Economic Growth, McGraw Hill, New York, 1964.

(11) For a detailed discussion of this aspect see D'Aeth, R., Education and Development in the Third World, Saxon House, England, 1978, pp. 45-49.

Qualitative improvements were largely ignored.

The effects on the LDCs of the attempts to bring about the desired expansion of educational facilities were more far-reaching than simply to overstrain national budgets. The severe shortages of skilled and trained manpower in the early years of independence meant that the private rates of return to investment in education were very high, and the salaries commanded for urban wage employment far exceeded the average per capita income of the country.(12) In response to this the population themselves exerted tremendous political pressure for expanded educational facilities. For many, schooling was seen to provide the only means of escape from the prevailing poverty and inequality.

However, continued expansion of educational facilities in the East and West African nations did not yield the expected results - rapid economic growth did not follow in the wake of increased investments. Indeed, the outcomes were such that educational planners began to question the applicability of Human Capital theory to the LDCs(13) and to consider whether the economic value of non-formal and out-of-school education might not exceed that of formal schooling under such conditions.(14)

The negative consequences of the African education policies of the 1960s were becoming apparent in the following decade and were seen in rising numbers of educated unemployed, growing bottlenecks in the school system and continued political pressure for expansion of schooling facilities. The newly independent nations of Southern Africa, however, were adopting, at independence, similar policies of educational expansion. The basic premises of Human Capital theory continued to be accepted without question by Southern African policy makers, and policies adopted closely mirrored earlier East and West African strategies.

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(12) See Blaug, M., An Introduction to the Economics of Education, Penguin Books, Ltd., New York, 1976, pp. 235-243.

(13) For example, Colcough states that "It is possible to see a series of significant and consistent challenges to the basic premises of Human Capital Theory as traditionally applied to the circumstances of the LDCs." Colcough, C., "Formal Education Systems and Poverty Focused Planning," in The Journal of Modern African Studies,15,4,1977,pp.569-589.

(14) Blaug, for instance, states that "... it could be that the economic value of out-of-school education vastly exceeds that of formal schooling." Blaug,M., Education and the Employment Problem in Developing Countries, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1973, p.58.

Thus, development policies of the selected Southern African nations have accorded high priority to quantitative educational expansion and its role in economic growth. This is particularly evident in the case of the independent South African Homelands. Each of the Homelands has a stated policy of working towards free and compulsory education for all, although the target dates for this move vary. Ciskei, in stating its policy, did specify that the provisions of universal education would be dependent upon the nation's "practical capacity" for realising it,(15) but Venda and Bophuthatswana set target dates for implementation of their schemes. Bophuthatswana in an ambitious move, proposed to implement compulsory education only 7 years after independence while Venda undertook to provide universal education in stages beginning two years prior to independence in 1977 with the first school grade. The onus, however, was placed on the parents who had to undertake to keep their children in school for a minimum of 4 years.(16) The Transkei government similarly has a policy of providing education for the whole population, but the emphasis has been placed rather on the provision of 'basic education' than attendance at general primary school.

Policy decisions regarding the provision of free and universal education in Zimbabwe have been heavily influenced by political factors and this is likely to be the case in Namibia as well, should it gain independence. Swapo has emphasised its commitment to the free provision of education in its published policy statements. While in Zimbabwe schooling at primary, and most of the secondary levels, was compulsory and free for white students, neither of these conditions prevailed for black students. Inequalities in employment and salary structures meant that black workers generally earned far less than similarly qualified whites. However, the returns to tertiary and higher academic education were sufficiently high for the black population to serve as a lure to continue through primary and secondary schooling in the hope of gaining access to tertiary institutions. Thus, with the attainment of independence, universal education became an important political objective.

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(15) Benso, The Republic of Ciskei: A Nation in Transition, Benso, Pretoria, 1981, p. 72.

(16) Government of Venda, Report of Department of Education, Ministry of Education, Government Printer, 31 December 1977.

The growth of student enrolments currently being brought about through national commitments to the provision of universal education, has received further impetus from the existing shortages of skilled and trained manpower in these countries, and consequently the high private rates of return to investments in tertiary education.

The extent of manpower shortages in Malawi for the period 1971-80 are reflected in Table 2 below which was based on Manpower Demand and Supply Estimates:

Table 2: Difference Between Annual Manpower Demand and Supply - Malawi.

Year	Professional Manpower	Managerial Level Manpower	Skilled Manpower	Totals
1971	-55	-295	-1 336	-1 686
1972	-65	-200	-1 532	-1 797
1973	-67	-300	-1 857	-2 224
1974	-88	-411	-2 381	-2 880
1975	-79	-663	-3 531	-4 273
1976	-165	-2 128	-7 404	-9 697
1977	-170	-2 744	-9 059	-11 975
1978	-203	-3 399	-11 206	-14 808
1979	-241	-4 101	-13 605	-17 947
1980	-282	.5 041	-16 368	-21 691
TOTALS	-1 415	-19 282	-68 279	-88 976

Source: Government of Malawi, Manpower Survey 1971, Government Printer, Blantyre, 1980, p.30.

The paradox exists, however, whereby widespread unemployment is found in these countries alongside a severe shortage of skilled labour. Hence, while there at present exists a virtually limitless demand for people with university training the employment opportunities for those with only primary or secondary level education are extremely limited. In Zimbabwe and Malawi for instance, it is evident that the current shortages of professional and managerial staff are impeding the implementation

of development programmes,[17] and bring about a continuing reliance on the recruitment of expatriat personnel.

The returns to investment in education for those employed in the skilled and professional ranks are extremely high - opportunities for further advancements are very favoaurable while the salaries demanded in these sectors are frequently more than four times the average per capita GDP. In Malawi for example statistics reveal that the average earnings of an employee in the agricultural sector (by which is generally meant small-scale cash crop production) amounted to MK14.39 per month as compared to MK139.40 per month earned for employment in the Financial Sector.[18] The parent and student population thus tend, quite correctly, to perceive further education as a means of gaining entrance to this socially and economically elite sector. Perceptions regarding education held by parents and students are further reinforced by employers of labour who rely on levels of educational attainment as a convenient guideline for recruitment purposes.[19] Hence, Government policies emphasising the rapid expansion of educational facilities have received enthusiastic support from the population.

The pyramids of pupil enrolments reflect the rapid expansion which has been undertaken in the provision of education, particularly at the primary level. Statistics show that in the Transkei 79% of enrolments are at the primary school level, while they account for 83% in Namibia. (Appendix 1). The tendency for an increasing number of students to attend primary school in order to obtain higher education has led to subsequent demands for expanded secondary school facilities. The selected South African nations have responded to these political demands by apportioning larger proportions of their budget to this level. In the late 1970s Venda recorded increased secondary enrolments at 30.5%,

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(17) Kadhani, M. and Riddell, R. "Education", In C. Stoneman, Zimbabwe's Inheritance, The College Press (Pvt) Ltd., 1981, pp. 58-73.

(18) Government of Malawi Statistical Yearbook, 1979, National Statistical Office, Government Printer, Zomba, 1980, p.54.

(19) For further discussion of this area see Oxenham, J. "Employers and Qualifications", and Little, A., "Is Education Related to Productivity", in IDS Bulletin, Vol. 11, No. 2, 1980, pp. 6-19.

Bophuthatswana at 40-49%[20] while the Namibian secondary school population increased four fold.[21] Secondary school intakes in Zimbabwe have increased from 144 735 to 316 438 pupils between 1981 and 1983[22] and in the Transkei pupils are expected to increase from 155 500 in 1981 to 212 000 in 1985. In the Transkei 30 new secondary schools have been constructed in 1983 to cope with the growth in numbers.

CONSEQUENCES OF CONTINUED EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION IN THE SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES:

The consequences of rapid increases in student enrolment are, however, far reaching and the experiences of the East and West African nations are beginning to be mirrored in the Southern African nations. The consequences include low standards of education and poor school facilities; growing numbers of under- and unemployed school leavers; and growing imbalances between educational provision and employment requirements.[23]

In all of the selected Southern African countries, one of the inevitable consequences of such a rapid expansion in school enrolments has been a decline in the standards of education. It is reported that the broadening of educational structures in the Transkei has led to "serious problems of a qualitative nature which in some spheres has reached crisis proportions."[24] Many of the primary schools are reported to have up to 100 pupils per classroom with pupil-teacher ratios of up to 60:1. Of the teachers employed, an estimated 15% had obtained the senior school leaving

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(20) Vermaak, D. and Verwey, C.T., Current Statistical Profile of Education in the Developing States in the South African Context, Paper presented at the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in Southern Africa, Cape Town, 13-19 April, 1984.

(21) Thomas, W.H., Economic Development in Namibia - Towards Acceptable Development Strategies for Independent Namibia, Kaiser-Grünewald, München, 1978.

(22) Government of Zimbabwe, Quarterly Digest of Statistics, Central Statistical Office, Harare, March 1983.

(23) See Dore, R., The Diploma Disease : Education Qualification and Development, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1976.

(24) Thomas, W.H., Socio-Economic Development in Transkei in the Context of Southern Africa's Urban-Rural Nexus, IMDS Fact Paper 3, Umtata, June 1982, p. 53.

TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF DATA CONCERNING THE PROVISION OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN THE SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

COUNTRY	Stated commitment to Provision of Universal & Free Education	Policy re. introducation of compulsory education	Percentage of Govt. expenditure committed to formal Education	Rate of Primary School Expansion per annum	Use of platoon system	Rate of Secondary School Expansion per annum	Pupil:Teacher Ratios	Rate of University Expansion per annum	No. of Vocational/ training institutions provided as an adjunct to formal education.	Pupils Enrolled in Vocational/ Training Institutions.
BOPHUTHATSWANA	Stated commitment to universal education	To be introduced in 1984	1983 30% Highest item of expenditure	1981 - 1982 5.3%	Yes	1981 -1982 8.24%	1982 50:1 at primary 37:1 at secondary	1982-1983 42.1%	1982 6 Trade Schools 1 Industrial college Vocational subjects at secondary school	1803 post school students 1982
CISKEI	Stated policy when 'practical capacity' permits	not stated	1982 18% Third largest item of expenditure	1981 - 1982 5.0%	Yes	1981 - 1982 9.13%	1982 42:1 at primary 32:1 at secondary	1981-1982 35.1%	1 Technical training College 1982	Part time for middle secondary school
TRANSKEI	Stated commitment to universal education	not stated	1982 23.8% Highest item of expenditure	1981 - 1982 7.0%	Yes	1981 - 1982 6.0%	1982 68:1 at primary 27:1 at secondary	1982-1983 83.2%	4 vocational and industrial schools 1982	1,463 post school pupils 1982
VENDA	Stated commitment to universal education. Initiated in1977	not stated	1980 16.6% Second highest item of expenditure	28.7% up to 1980 1981 - 1982 3.0%	Yes	1981 - 1982 8.1%	1981 +40:1 at primary 30:1 at secondary	-	1982 1 technical college	1982 457 post school pupils
MALAWI	Commitment to continued expansion of schooling facilities	not stated	1980 4.0%	1980 - 1981 4.0% But 11.0% in 1st grade	Yes	1981 - 1982 4.0%	1980 39:1 at primary 20:1 at secondary	1979-1980 20%	1980 Agricultural college - 321 Polytechnic - 289 Malawi Young Pioneers - 3,900	
NAMIBIA	SWAPO policies state a commitment to universal and free education on the attainment of independence	To be introduced at independence	1980 26% Highest item of expenditure	data not available	Yes	1970 - 1980 Total school enrollment increased four-fold	1979 42:1 for Black pupils	-	At Post primary level 1980 6 Technical training Colleges	354 Black students
ZIMBABWE	Commitment to the expansion of schooling facilities & the provision of universal 'basic education'	From 1983 compulsory education for all under 16 years.	1983 20% Highest item of expenditure	Proposed increase in intake of 50 000 pupils per annum between 1981 and 1986	Yes	Proposed 30% increase in enrollments between 1981 and 1986.	40:1 at primary 21:1 at secondary	1981-1982 22.4%	4 Technical colleges and polytechnics 1981	4,099 post school students

certificate or further training.(25)

Venda, likewise, records a very low quality of teacher and attributes the low average scores obtained by higher secondary pupils to this fact (scores are generally below 30%).(26) The consequences of indiscriminate expansion of the educational system in Bophuthatswana are also becoming evident in the low quality of education and growing concern in being voiced among educational planners: It is reported that 244 middle secondary schools had been established in the country in the space of three years despite recommendations by educational commissions that only 200 should be established over a 5-year period. Many of these schools are situated in primary school buildings and lack basic facilities such as textbooks and science equipment. Moreover, of 1 145 teachers employed in high schools only 263 are adequately qualified. It is concluded that "Indiscriminate growth of secondary education is the Achilles heel in Bophuthatswana ... the uncontrolled development of secondary education spells the deterioration of standards, frustration among the youth, untold misery for all and complete retrogression for Bophuthatswana.(27)

Like the other Southern African countries selected for consideration, Zimbabwe and Malawi also experience shortages of qualified teaching staff and both have been compelled to recruit expatriate teaching staff to help overcome local shortages. Kadhani & Riddell estimate, on the basis of projected population increases, that in order to provide universal primary education for all black children born in Zimbabwe between 1977 and 1983, beginning in 1984, an increase of 18 000 teachers (at a pupil-teacher ratio of 40:1) would be required which would necessitate the construction of 17 new teacher colleges. Furthermore, to provide 4 years of secondary schooling from 1990 for these primary leavers, an additional 42 000 teachers (at pupil-teacher ratios of 20:1) and 70 teacher training colleges would be required.(28)

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(25) Ibid., p.54.

(26) Government of Venda, Report of Department of Education, op. cit., p.9.

(27) Editorial Report, Popogano, Vol 2, No 2, Dec 1981, p.9.

(28) Kadhani, M. & Riddell, R., op. cit., p.65.

Namibia, while not experiencing expansion of educational facilities to the extent found in other nations, also reports a serious lack of qualified teachers and low standards of education among the black population.

The low quality of teaching staff and poor facilities have, in addition, in all the selected countries meant pupil-teacher ratios of over 40:1, and the introduction of the 'platoon system' or double teaching periods which is acknowledged to be ruinous to the quality of teaching. Incidences of pupils who either drop out of the educational system or repeat years are also exceedingly high. While this may in part be attributed to conditions in the home environment of the pupils, it may also be explained by the poor quality of teaching staff and lack of facilities.

Table 3: Estimated Pupil Outflow at Different Levels of Education - 1981.

	Illiterate (School Leavers without Sub-A)	Semi-literate (Obtain Sub-A - Std 2)	Literate (Obtain Std. 3 - Std. 5)	Junior Secondary (Std. 6 - Std. 8)	Senior Secondary (Std. 9 - Std. 10)	Total
Bophuthat-swana	4 782	12 147	9 517	11 362	6 232	44 040
Ciskei	11 498	5 399	3 792	6 876	2 995	30 560
Transkei	76 436	26 433	14 321	5 406	6 472	139 068
Venda	3 893	1 791	2 975	1 184	2 216	12 059

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, Survey of Race Relations 1982, The Natal Witness, 1982, p. 476.

Table 3 reflects the high incidence of drop outs in selected countries where statistics are available. Moreover, the countries also reflect high "repeater rates" by children who repeat a class. This is reflected in the data available in Bophuthatswana for the first 6 levels of primary school.

"Repeaters" as a percentage of Class enrolments - Bophuthatswana 1983

Sub A	18.5%
Sub B	16.0%
Std 1	18.4%
Std 2	13.0%
Std 3	17.0%
Std 4	11.0%
Total	15.7%

Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1983, The Natal Witness, 1984, p. 469.

The majority of students in the selected Southern African countries, despite the lure of high returns to continued education, fail to complete the full school cycle. The reasons for this are varied; the examination system is generally geared to exclude a certain proportion of students from entrance to the limited number of places at secondary schools,(29) attendance at school represents a loss of labour for families who are frequently engaged in subsistence agriculture, and the cost of school uniforms and books represents a heavy burden for the poorer sectors of the population. Families and students who have invested either time or money in education, even if only to the completion of primary education, do expect the attainment of literacy and numeracy skills to yield some financial returns. In the early years of educational expansion, when manpower scarcities are severe, even limited education does yield such returns. However, as was the case in the East and West African nations, such employment positions are soon filled and the demand remains only for skilled and professional personnel, and management and technician level. That similar developments are occurring in the selected Southern African countries is evident from an examination of the areas where shortfalls of personnel are most acute. In Zimbabwe, for instance, 1983 statistics show the highest proportion of the labour force to be engaged in the field of agriculture, forestry and fishing, much of this activity being of a

(29) It is reported, for example, that in Zimbabwe of 16 000 candidates qualified for entrance to 'A' Level education, schools could accommodate only 25% of possible entrants. Lowe Morna, C., "Education must suit Manpower Needs", In Moto, No 25, July 1984.

semi-subsistence nature. Despite the fact that the majority were employed in agriculture, earnings in manufacturing fields were over three times those in the agricultural fields.(30) In Namibia, it was reported that in the late 1970s, only approximately 27% of the black labour force could be regarded as properly integrated into the modern urban economy.(31) Malawi reflects similar statistics.

The implication is that pupils who have received some education to higher primary or secondary school level are unable to find employment which matches their educational achievements. While employment prospects are outstanding for those few who have received tertiary level education, lower educational attainments no longer yield the expected returns. Statistics in Zimbabwe, for example, reveal that in 1981 some 80% of secondary school leavers were unemployed, while 45% of those who found employment could be classified as unemployed.(32) That this pattern is common to many developing nations is evident from studies carried out by Colcough and Little.(33)

The result is that the countries experienced growing numbers of educated un- and underemployed. To provide free education to the population when employment is not available for school leavers is costly to the nation in both financial and social terms. This fact is now becoming evident in the Southern African countries. It has been stated that, in viewing education as an end in itself "Zimbabwe is repeating the mistake of many African countries. If education and manpower needs are not correlated ... Zimbabwe will soon have a glut of educated people with no jobs to offer them... An over-abundance of educated people without commensurate job opportunities will breed political instability." Unemployment is becoming a growing problem.(34)

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(30) Government of Zimbabwe, Digest of Statistics, op. cit.

(31) Thomas, W.H., Economic Development in Namibia - Towards Acceptable Development Strategies for Independent Namibia, op. cit., p. 195.

(32) Kadhani, M., & Riddell, R., op. cit., p. 71.

(33) Little, A., "The Logic of Students Employment Expectations," In IDS Bulletin, Vol 11, No 2, 1980, pp. 20-27.

(34) Lowe Morna, C., op. cit.

The other Southern African nations are experiencing similar circumstances. In Transkei, while shortages of skilled personnel persist, it is estimated that, at best, only approximately 50% of the annual net increase in the labour force can be absorbed into the formal sector of the local economy. Between 5 000 and 7 000 additional employment opportunities would have to be created each year to absorb new additions to the labour force.(35) In Ciskei conditions are similar with an estimated 40% of the economically active population finding salaried employment.

Attempts to bring about the rapid expansion of tertiary educational institutions has tended to focus on increasing university enrolments. In some of the countries University enrolments have been increased dramatically. Zimbabwe provides such an example - enrolments in 1981 totalled 2 525 and had risen to 3 091 by 1982; an increase of 22.41% in one year.(36) Similarly, in Bophuthatswana, University enrolment between 1981 and 1982 grew by 35%. It is possible that continued expansion of this level will likewise lead to results similar to those experienced in East and West Africa in earlier decades; the vacant professional posts were filled far more rapidly than anticipated, with consequent growing numbers of unemployed university graduates. Colcough predicts that unemployment among graduates in Africa might well reach the same levels as in India and Sri Lanka in the next 20 years if the current expansion rates for tertiary education are continued.(37)

The consequences of the continued indiscriminate expansion of educational enrolments in the selected Southern African nations are clearly severe. The systems will be increasingly characterised by poor educational standards and increasing imbalances between educational provision and labour requirements. To expect education alone to provide the foundation

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(35) Legum, C., (Ed), Africa Contemporary Record 1982-1983, Annual Survey of Documents, Africana Publishing House, London, 1983.

(36) Data obtained from Government of Zimbabwe, Digest of Statistics, op. cit.

(37) Colcough, C., op. cit., p. 572.

for national economic growth and development is misguided. As Vos[38] points out, the experiences of African nations to the north of the continent reveal that "Formal education programmes that are not accompanied by real economic and social opportunities lead to nothing but disillusion, misery and rebellion - the school, as a single social structure, cannot by itself regulate the course of (economic), social and cultural change."

THE PROVISION OF APPROPRIATE EDUCATION IN THE SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

As the effects of rapid educational expansion became increasingly evident, the hitherto inviolate concept, that formal education and economic growth were inextricably linked, began to be questioned. The increasing numbers of educated unemployed, accompanied by continuing shortages of skilled manpower in various sectors of the economy, led educational planners to consider alternative kinds of education and training. For the selected Southern African countries, like most of the other African nations before them, this interest has turned to consideration of the roles which vocational, technical, basic, and non-formal education generally, might play in the development process.

While there is a substantial history of developments in the fields of non-formal and appropriate education in the selected Southern African countries there have, until recently, been few attempts by educational planners to co-ordinate or develop these fields in any significant manner. The provision of such programmes has, to date, generally been provided by voluntary groups of private organisations with considerable overlap, and even conflict, occurring between the different programmes. Thompson[39] reports that this was largely the circumstances under which alternative education was provided in East and West Africa in the 1970s. With growing evidence of the shortcomings of continued rapid expansion of the formal education system, however, the governments of these countries

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(38) Vos, A.J., "Education for Development - Some African Experiences," in Proctor-Sims, R. (Ed), Proceedings of a Conference Held on Technical and Vocational Education in Southern Africa, Conference Associates (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg, 1981, pp. 204-207.

(39) For further discussion of this, see International Labour Office, Employment in Africa: Some Critical Issues, Geneva 1973, pp.273-276.

are beginning to pay more attention to what has been termed "appropriate" education and its possible role in accelerated economic growth. This is evident in the small, but growing proportion of the educational budget which is being given over to expenditure in this area, as reflected in Table 4

TABLE 4: ZIMBABWE - FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

SOCIAL SERVICES

$'000

Service	Year one	Year two	Year three	Year four	Year five	Five-year total	Sources of finance		Balance to complete	Foreign exchange, five-year period
							Government funds and other borrowings	Own resources		
EDUCATION - PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND TEACHER-TRAINING										
Capital expenditure	16 770	55 630	79 315	110 933	144 627	407 275	612 121	-	-	40 800
Recurrent expenditure	6 625	19 305	35 947	57 807	85 162	204 846				
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TRAINING										
Capital expenditure	600	500	400	457	100	2 057	4 387	-	-	200
Recurrent expenditure	226	401	445	555	703	2 330				
VOCATIONAL EDUCATION AND INDUSTRIAL TRAINING										
Capital expenditure	3 181	2 288	2 873	1 991	1 594	11 927	24 117	-	-	3 000
Recurrent expenditure	570	1 658	2 459	3 343	4 160	12 190				
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY										
Capital expenditure	3 753	3 030	3 418	3 729	2 195	16 125	32 656	-	-	4 100
Recurrent expenditure	817	2 214	3 511	4 462	5 527	16 531				
TOTAL	32 542	85 026	128 368	183 277	244 068	673 281	673 281	-	-	48 100

Source: Govt. of Zimbabwe, Proposals for a Five-Year Programme of Development in the Public Sector, Ministry of Finance, Govt. Printer, 1979.

The provision of appropriate education in the selected Southern African countries may be categorised into four main areas according to a framework proposed by Coombs and Ahmed:(40)

1) The Provision of Basic Education: Educational policies in Zimbabwe have a stated commitment to the provision of universal and free basic education throughout the community(41). The provision of basic education is seen as a means whereby the population would obtain the "minimum essential learning needs" necessary to their future occupations. Thus, Riddell states that "...while basic education has the task of providing basic head and hand skills to its pupils, it should also teach pupils skills needed for productive employment in wider society, for the majority will receive no further formal institutional education. In the rural areas, where the majority of the population lives, agriculture should be an integral part of basic education."(42) It was also recommended that the subjects offered in each area should be related to the needs of that specific community.

The assumption behind the provision of basic education is, therefore, that the pupils, in particular those in the rural areas, will benefit from an educational system adopted to meet local conditions and local employment possibilities. Hence, the provision of universal and free basic education would lead to greater equity and equality in the provision of education.

2) Family Improvement Education: It was anticipated that the provision of this type of education would generate improvements in the quality of family life. This would be achieved through the provision of education in areas such as health, nutrition, home-making, child care, etc.

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(40) Coombs, P.H. and Ahmed, M., Attacking Rural Poverty: How Non-formal Education Can Help, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1978, p.15.

(41) For a further discussion on this see: Riddell, R., From Rhd to Zimb: Educ for Employment, Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 1980, pp. 57-59.

(42) Ibid., p. 57.

In the selected Southern African countries, education in these areas has in many instances been left to private concerns and mission work. It has as yet received little attention by government. In Namibia Family Improvement Education is provided by private enterprise, but with some government co-ordination. In Zimbabwe, however, the government, in line with its emphasis on social welfare, has initiated a number of projects in the rural areas providing education on Child Development and Nutrition, budgeting and organisation of community facilities.(43) Government involvement at this level of education was seen to be directly related to economic and social needs assessment.

3) Community Improvement Education: Education in this sphere is designed to increase knowledge of matters related to local and national government, community projects, and national institutions, and has been introduced in the majority of the selected Southern African states.

Government investment in Community Improvement Education has been most marked in Malawi with the introduction and expansion of the Malawi Young Pioneers organised along lines similar to the Botswana Brigades. In the Young Pioneer system non-formal and out-of-school training of a more 'appropriate' form than that provided by conventional secondary school courses is given to youths. Training in practical areas related to building, mechanics, carpentry and particularly agriculture is given to the Pioneers in order that they may serve as "a multi-purpose tool for promoting rural development ... and be capable of making a useful contribution both in stimulating and in supporting local self-help activities.(44)

The existence of such brigades serves a twofold advantage: the cost of training each member is far less than the provision of formal secondary education while brigades are ensured employment in government development schemes. The growing popularity of the Young Pioneers is evidenced in the enrolment figures shown below in Table 5

(43) The most notable of these have been the kurenga Mashandisinwa eMari and kukura kweMwana programs as discussed in Muchena, O.N., Curriculum Development in Adult Basic Educ: A Rural Pilot Project Report, Institute of Adult Education, Univ. of Zimbabwe, Nov. 1981.

(44) Thompson, A.R., op. cit., p. 243.

Table 5 MALAWI YOUNG PIONEERS TRAINED AT VARIOUS TRAINING BASES BY SEX 1972/73 - 1978/79

Year	Boys				Girls			
	Northern Region	Central Region	Southern Region	Total	Northern Region	Central Region	Southern Region	Total
1972/73	463	496	678	1 637	27	29	78	134
1973/74	511	466	643	1 620	29	37	129	195
1974/75	645	610	803	2 058	29	50	119	198
1975/76	596	661	918	2 175	25	44	130	199
1976/77	1 152	567	1 485	3 204	52	31	452	535
1977/78	1 318	2 020	1 542	4 880	54	141	703	898
1978/79	1 250	977	978	3 205	116	124	471	711

SOURCE: Government Printer, Malawi Statistical Yearbook 1979, National Statistical Office, Zomba, Malawi, 1980, p33 .

In Zimbabwe, Community Improvement Education has received considerable attention by the government, particularly as it relates to agricultural techniques and practices, local government and community development training and health education.(45) Again, it is anticipated that the provision of such education will help stimulate development in the rural areas and ultimately reduce the inequalities which prevail between the urban and rural areas.

The provision of Community Improvement Education in the Independent Homelands has received some governmental attention but this has generally been within governmental schemes to introduce Moshov-styled rural development projects.(46)

4) Occupational and Vocational Education: Of the alternative systems of education, vocational education is the area that has received a considerable amount of attention by central governments. Vocational training is increasingly being viewed as a "central component of development planning(47) and as a useful short-term means of meeting existing skill shortages. The selected Southern African countries have introduced vocational education both at school level and at tertiary education level. In both instances, vocational training is viewed as an adjunct to formal education. Hence, such training tends to be frequently viewed by the students as an alternative to further academic training.

In Namibia and Zimbabwe attempts have been made to introduce vocational subjects into the school system in such a way that it will provide the students with a knowledge of skills "appropriate" to their life circumstances. Hence, the courses offered in the vocational training centres could be adjusted to meet the requirements of the urban and rural sectors.

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(45) For a detailed discussion of a variety of such programmes see Dock, S.J., Case Studies of Community-Based Educ. in Zimbabwe, 1981, Institute of Adult Education, Univ. of Zimbabwe, Harare, Oct. 1981.

(46) See for example Ciskei Dev. Comp. - The Dev.of viable communities in Southern Africa with particular reference to the Ciskei, Conference Associates, Pretoria, 1978.

(47) See Shakespeare, A.G., & Kriel, J.R., Agricultural & Technical Educ. at the Univ. of Bophuthatswana, and Knott, M.H., The Industrial Training & Info. & Research Unit at the Univ. of Zimbabwe, both in Proctor-Sims, R (Ed), op.cit., pp. 146-149 & pp. 133-136.

In most of the selected countries, vocational training programmes are offered mainly by tertiary educational institutions as part-time or diploma courses and are open to those students who could not gain access to further academic education. In Transkei, for instance, the high failure rate recorded among first-year science students (seen to be largely as a consequence of poor schooling) and the urgent need for medium level technicians has led to the introduction of such vocational diploma courses at the university.(48) The University of Bophuthatswana has likewise introduced short-run training programmes covering technical and commercial education and training while in Malawi the Polytechnic also provide technical and vocational training at artisan level.

Hence, to date, vocational training in the selected Southern African countries has been provided in response to existing shortages of skilled manpower within the economy. Vocational training has received growing attention as a shortrun, low cost means of meeting such shortages.

CONCLUSION: THE LINKS BETWEEN FORMAL AND APPROPRIATE EDUCATION:

The trend in the Southern African countries has been to provide 'appropriate' or non-formal education either as part of the formal schooling system or as a separate means of gaining some tertiary education. Hence, the basic assumptions underlying the provision of appropriate education, was that such education would generate realistic work aspirations among the students while also providing trained manpower to fill vacant positions at artisan level in both urban and rural areas.

The danger underlying such assumptions is that appropriate and non-formal education will come to be regarded as an inferior, second-rate route to formal education. Thus, although governments may commit themselves to continued investment in appropriate education of various types, the demands for formal educational expansion continue to grow among the student and parent population. The rejection of appropriate or non-formal education programmes in favour of further formal education by students is not necessarily the result of problems internal to the

school system alone. Many of the problems lie in the nature of the interaction between the schooling system and the broader socio-economic context of employment opportunities. Numerous studies[49] are beginning to point out the link between employer selection practices and formal schooling results. Employers tend to use level of schooling as a useful recruitment tool. As Oxenham[50] points out, the public demand for schooling may well be a function of the employer's demands for scholastic qualifications. Should the government of a country then continue with plans to undertake the rapid expansion of the formal educational system, employers will respond to greater numbers of school leavers by increasing their formal schooling requirements. Eventually, as has occurred in India, selection criteria in no way reflect the skills needed to perform a particular job, and the imbalance between schooling and employment increases.[51]

There are, however, also difficulties internal to the schooling system which affect students' demands for further formal education and their rejection of 'appropriate' education in favour of formal education where possible. Attempts to revise curricula, as in the case of Zimbabwe where there is an emphasis on the provision of 'basic education', and as in Ciskei and Transkei where there is vocationalised curricula for schools in the rural areas, have in many instances failed. As the private rates of return to formal academic tertiary education remain high, the fundamental purpose of attending primary school, for the students, has been to gain secondary entrance. As Colcough[52] points out, "where attempts were made to introduce a different kind of primary education, supplementary to and parallel to the orthodox school system, that would simply focus upon literacy, numera and usable skills for the

(49) Little, A., "Is education related to Productivity?" and Oxenham, J., "Employers and Qualifications", both in IDS Bulletin, Vol 11, No 2 1980.

(50) Oxenham, J., op. cit., p.4.

(51) It is reported, for instance, that in India a university degree is required for the job of a commercial bank teller. In Kenya, tribal dancers employed by the Government of Kenya must now have an 'O' level certificate or 4 years of secondary schooling.

(52) Colcough, C., op. cit., p. 579. See also Colcough, C., "Basic Education - Samson or Delilah?" In Convergence, Vol IX, No 2, 1976.

rural population ... (as by those who advocate 'basic education'), there are good reasons to suppose that such an approach is ill-conceived, and that, if widely implemented, significant resources would be wasted ... As long as the orthodox school system is widely believed to offer the one vehicle of achieving (social advancement and high incomes) differentiated programmes that set about preparing people to more readily accept and adapt to their rural lot will not succeed". Any such programmes will therefore be viewed in the light of increasing the existing rural-urban differentials and be regarded as second-rate education by the population.

The form of appropriate education which has been accorded the most importance in the Southern African countries, vocational training has, as stated previously, been viewed as an important means of promoting both economic progress and social advancement in these countries. Studies elsewhere, however, are beginning to question the relationship between vocational training and employment.(53) East and West African countries which have accorded great importance to vocational training, either within the formal schooling system or as part of formal tertiary education, are finding that manpower planning frameworks were not flexible enough to accommodate the fluctuations of the employment market. Hence, persistent surpluses and shortages of particular skills continue despite vocational training schemes. In many nations the shortages and surpluses of labour have been so severe that Blaug(54) recommends that planners "abandon any notion that vocationalisation can prepare students for specific occupations." Further complications arise in any move to vocationalisation of school curricula as the private rates of return continue to be lower for technical or vocational training than for formal academic qualifications.

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(53) Ducray, G., "Vocational Training Today: the changing relationship between training and employment," In International Labour Review, Vol 118, No 3, May-June 1979.

(54) Blaug, M., Education and Employment Problems in Developing Countries, Imprimerie La Concorde, Switzerland, 1973. See also Foster, P.J., "The Vocational School Fallacy", In Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. (Eds), Power and Ideology in Education, Oxford University Press, New York, 1977, pp. 356-365.

What is the conclusion to be drawn from this consideration of the aspects of the expanded provision of formal schooling and appropriate education in the selected Southern African countries? As has been stated in the paper, the continued rapid expansion of the formal education system will not only place an inordinate burden on the finances of the developing country concerned, but is also giving rise to growing numbers of educated unemployed while increasing socio-economic inequality within the country. A recognition of such factors has led to a growing interest in, and investment in, appropriate education, whether this involves vocational training or the provision of 'basic education'. However there is growing evidence to support the contention that appropriate education will not have the desired effects regarding the production of adequately trained and educationed manpower, or the provision of a system of education whereby increasing equity, equality and excellence will be achieved.

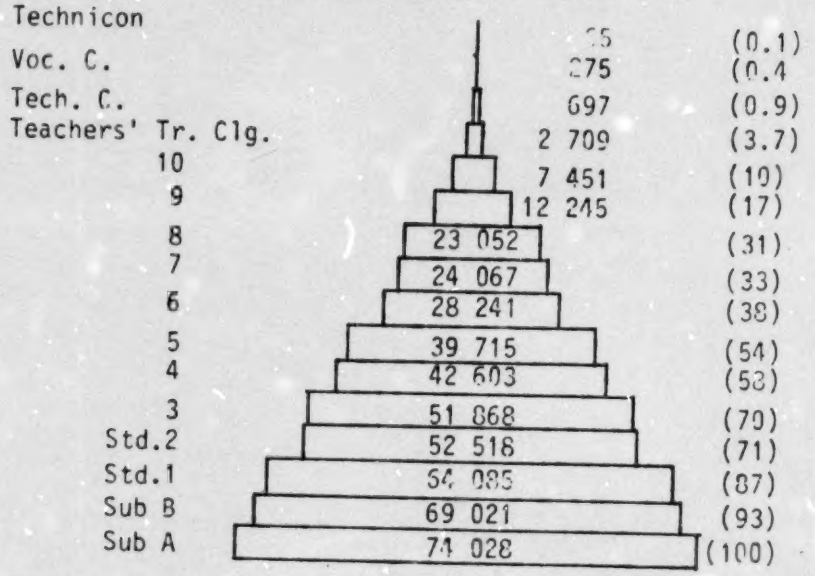
The route to accelerated development would appear not to lie in the path of expanded educational facilities alone. A more pragmatic approach to educational expansion and the linking of both formal and appropriate education with available employment opportunities would assist in both

social and economic development. The most important means of affecting income distribution, of lowering the costs of formal education, of reducing the pressures on expansion at the higher levels, of liberating the curricula from the certification and selection syndrome, and of improving rural welfare, are through policies that are not internal to education, but which work to release the system from its present rigid links with the labour market of the formal sector.(55)

(55) Colcough, C., op.cit., p.589.

APPENDIX 1: PYRAMIDS OF SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN THE SELECTED SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

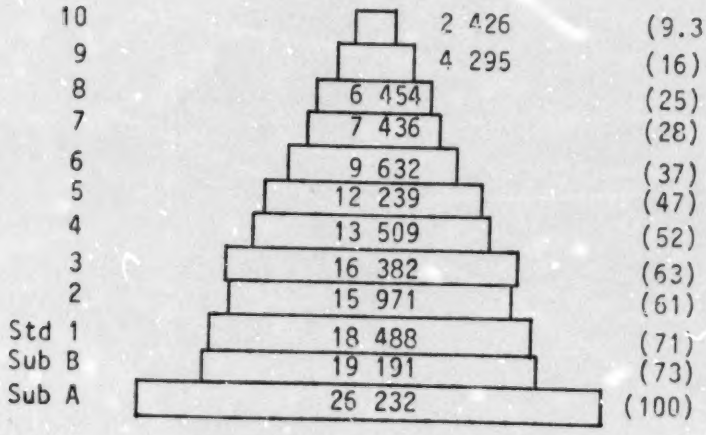
BOPHUTHATSWANA : 1982



(Figures in Brackets are Percent)

(Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1983, Johannesburg, 1984)

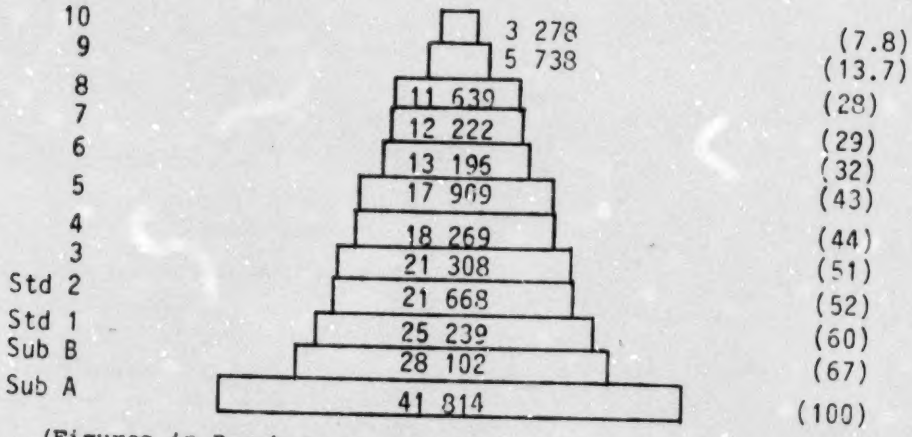
VENDA : 1981



(Figures in Brackets are Percent)

(Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1983, Johannesburg, 1984,p481)

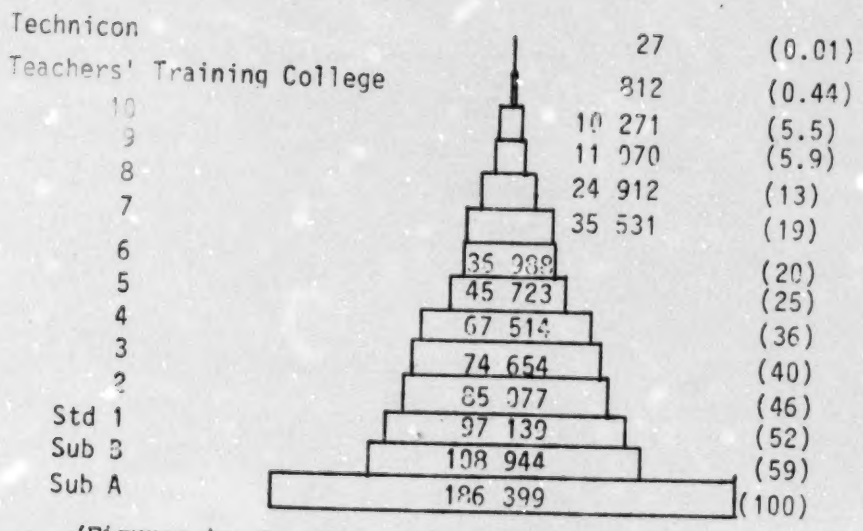
CISKEI : 1980



(Figures in Brackets are Percent)

(Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1983, Johannesburg, 1984)

TRANSKEI : 1982



(Figures in Brackets are Percent)

(Source: South African Institute of Race Relations, Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1983, Johannesburg, 1984.)

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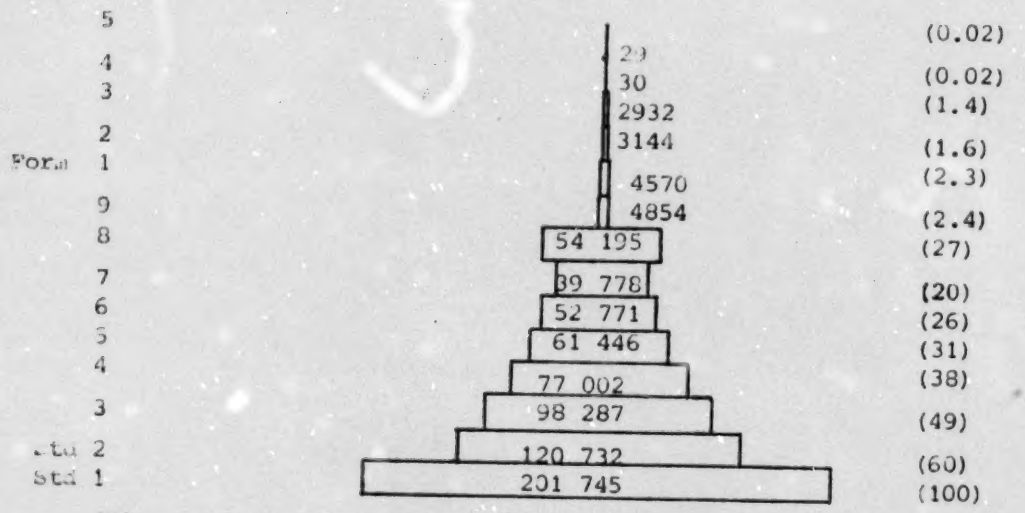
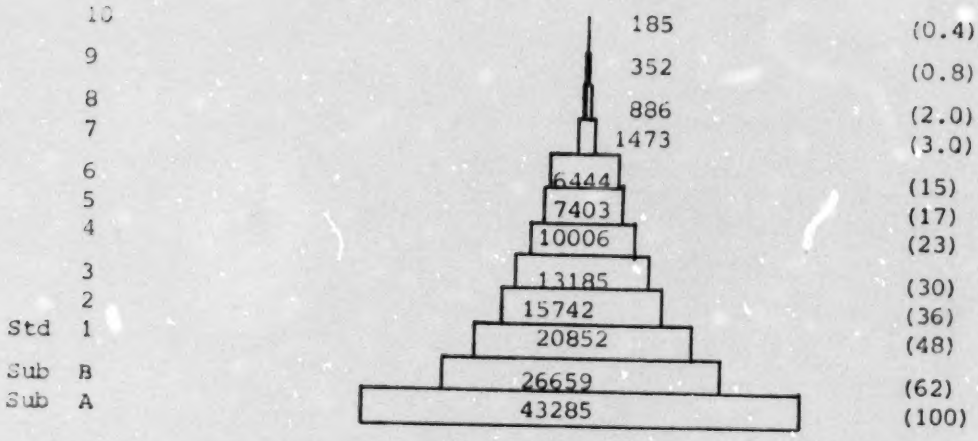
MALAWI : 1978/79



(Figures in Brackets are Percent)

(Source: Government of Malawi, Malawi Statistical Yearbook 1979, National Statistical Office, Zomba,1980,pp.34 & 36)

NAMIBIA : 1974



(Figures in Brackets are Percent)

(Source: Thomas, W.H., Economic Development in Namibia - Towards Acceptable Development Strategies for Independent Namibia, Kaiser-Grünewald, München, 1978,p111.)

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